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Gustav Adolf.

Van Dyck.

1630

1930

The Midnight Lion

Gustav Adolf

The Greatest Lutheran Layman

By

William Dallmann

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The Northwestern Conference thanked Dr. Dallmann for his most excellent paper on Gustav Adolf and urged and encouraged him to have it published.

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H. C. STEINHOFF, *Chairman.*

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January 9, 1930.

FOREWORD.

"Gustavus Adolphus is a hero of every nation," says Samuel Rawson Gardiner, the English historian. June, 1930, is the three-hundredth anniversary of the coming of Gustav Adolf to Pomerania to defend the political and religious liberties of Sweden by saving the religious and political liberties of the oppressed Protestants in Germany.

This is an epoch in history, secular and religious, and every Lutheran, every Protestant, every educated person, should know about these glorious days. "It is doubtful whether the military annals of any nation offer a period more worthy of admiration than the eighteen campaigns of the Swedish army in Germany," writes Prof. Charles François Dominique de Villers.

An effort to give a plain account of those days is here made by THE AUTHOR.



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AUTHORITIES.

Monro His Expedition vvith the vvorthy Scots Regiment (called Mac-Keyes Regiment) levied in August 1626, by S^r Donald Mac-Key Lord Rhees, Colonell for his Majesties service of Denmark, and reduced after the Battaille of Nerling [Noerdlingen] to one Company in September 1634, at Wormes in the Paltz. Discharged in severall Duties and Observations of service; first under the magnanimous King of Denmark, during his vvarres against the Emperour; afterward, under the Invincible King of Sweden, during his Majesties life time; and since, under the Directour Generall, the Rex-chancellor Oxensterne and his Generalls. Collected and gathered together at spare-hourses, by Colonel ROBERT MONRO, at first Lievetenant under the said Regiment, to the Noble and worthy Captaine, THOMAS MAC-KENYEE of Kildon, Brother to the noble Lord, the Lord Earle of Seafort; for the use of all worthie cavaliers favouring the laudable profession of Armes. To which is annexed the Abridgment of Exercise, and divers practicall Observations, for the younger Officer his Consideration, ending with the Souldiers. Meditations going on service. LONDON, Printed by William Jones in Red-Crosse Streete. 1637.

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CHAPTER ONE.

The Background.

"Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise; God help me! Amen." So said Martin Luther to Kaiser Karl at the *Reichstag* of Worms in 1521. Fighting for the same Kaiser Karl in the same year at the siege of Pamplona, Don Inigo de Recalde of Loyola was lamed for life by a French bullet. While he was laid up, he could not get his favorite romances of days of old when knights were bold, *Amadis of Gaul*, and so he read the *Life of Christ* by Ludolf of Saxony and Voragine's *Golden Legends* of the saints. Why should he not follow the saints? He would! In 1540 he founded the Society of Jesus, and this is the real beginning of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. The Jesuits strengthened the Papacy at the Council of Trent and launched an offensive to crush Lutheranism.

At the *Reichstag* of Worms, Cardinal Aleander wrote to Rome nine out of ten were Lutherans and the one against the Pope. In 1558 a Venetian traveler said in Germany 70 per cent. were Lutherans, 20 per cent. other Protestants, and only 10 per cent. Romanists.

In 1564 Duke Albrecht V crushed Lutheranism in Bavaria; he was followed by the electors of Trier and Mainz and in 1575 by the abbot of Fulda, though he was almost the only Romanist in his territory. In 1584 Julius of Wuerzburg did the same, though his country was about wholly Protestant. The bishops of Bamberg, Salzburg, Hildesheim, Muenster, Paderborn, and others did likewise.

In 1562 France made war on the Protestants. In 1576 Alva began his bloody work in the Netherlands. In 1570 Cardinal St. Charles Borromeo began to "convert" the Swiss by force. In 1596 St. Francis de Sales forcibly "converted" 80,000 "heretics" and stamped out Prot-

estantism. In England the Jesuits worked in secret against Queen Elizabeth; on November 5, 1605, the Gunpowder Plot was discovered. In 1620 all Protestants in the Velteline were murdered, about 5,000.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

The Bohemian Phase.

Archduke Ferdinand of Hapsburg was born July 9, 1578, at Graz. He was reared by a devout Catholic mother and drilled by the Jesuits of Graz and Ingolstadt. In May, 1595, the seventeen-year-old boy was made ruler of Steiermark. He made a pilgrimage to Loretto and Rome and vowed to crush Protestantism. In 1596 there were only three persons professing Catholicism, but in 1598 the Protestant preachers were driven out, their churches were closed, the people were driven into papal churches or driven out of the country, and the fine library at Graz was burned.

And yet, by Kaiser Matthias's lobby he got himself "accepted" as king of Bohemia in 1617. On the advice of the Jesuits he guaranteed the "Letter of Majesty," which gave religious liberty, and was crowned July 19.

The "Letter of Majesty" and its authors were openly denounced; Protestants were driven from office, into exile, into prison; a Protestant church was given to the papists, another torn down, in 1617, just one hundred years after Luther's Theses.

In March, 1618, Graf Henry Matthias of Thurn and others protested; they were threatened as rebels. On May 23 Thurn and others threw the royal commissioners, Martinitz and Slawata, with their secretary, Fabricius, out of the window of the Hradschin "in good old Bohemian fashion." They escaped; but this defenestration began the Thirty Years' War, the most terrible of all history.

Kaiser Matthias urged concessions; Ferdinand refused and even imprisoned



The Defenestration at Prague.



Frederick V of the Pfalz,
The Winter King of Bohemia.



By courtesy of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Maximilian of Bavaria.

Cardinal Klesl, who advised against military force.

On August 19, 1619, the Bohemians deposed Ferdinand and on November 4 crowned Kurfuerst Frederick V of the Pfalz as their king.

On August 26, at Frankfurt, the deposed King of Bohemia became Kaiser Ferdinand II.

While Frederick was dining with the English ambassador on November 8, 1620, Tilly and Max of Bavaria attacked Prince Christian von Anhalt and Graf Hohenlohe at the White Hill near Prague. In an hour the "Winter King" lost Bohemia and his own Pfalz, and even his Garter, and was a wandering beggar.

Bohemia and the Pfalz were savagely punished; Protestantism was crushed under the Jesuit steam-roller. So everywhere. Linz was all Protestant, but by 1626 it had been forced into Romanism. 2,000 Hungarian Protestant Churches were reduced to 105.



Elizabeth Stuart, Wife of Frederick V.



James I of England.

In 1610, when but seventeen, Frederick had married Elizabeth Stuart amid the rejoicing of England; now he pestered her father for help. James I permitted Colonel Gray to recruit 1,000 Englishmen and 1,000 Scots, and Sir Horace Vere was sent with 2,000 volunteers. In vain; Tilly whipped Markgraf George Frederick von Baden-Durlach at Wimpfen on May 6, 1622.

The fire-eating Christian von Braunschweig was a cousin of Elizabeth, "the Jewell of her sex," who narrowly escaped being the bride of Gustav Adolf. Christian put her glove in his helmet and vowed not to remove it till she was once more queen of Bohemia; his motto was, "For God and her." Tilly defeated him on June 20 at Höchst, when Simplicius Simplicissimus as a child was driven from home into the Spessart; on August 6, 1623, Tilly again routed Christian at Stadtlohn, near Muenster.



By courtesy of G. P. Putnam's Sons.
Christian IV of Denmark.

The Danish Phase.

At last England got King Christian IV of Denmark to draw the sword, for 30,000 pounds a month, Holland throwing in 50,000 florins — signed at London on December 9, 1625. England had also furnished funds for Mansfeld and Brunswick.

The Kaiser ordered Wallenstein to raise an army, but furnished no pay; so the army had to live by plunder. Being no respecter of persons, Wallenstein plundered friend and foe, Romanists and Lutherans. He cut Mansfeld to pieces at the Dessau bridge on April 25, 1626. Tilly defeated King Christian at Lutter on August 27, 1626, and drove him out of Holstein. Wallenstein drove him out of Juetland on to his islands. He had no ships, and so he could not drive the Dane any farther. He drove out the dukes of Mecklenburg and became Duke of Mecklenburg in addition to being Duke of Friedland. Fletcher calls 1628 "the most critical year in the fate of Protestant-



STRALSUND
INSULÆRUGEN
PARS—A Section
of the Island of
Rügen.

MARIS DALTICI
PARS—A Section
of the Baltic, i. e.,
the Stralsund,
from which sound
the city was doubt-
less named.

VERDROCKEN
LANDT.—Drown-
ed Lands.—Three
bridges over these
led to the city.
The letters A, B,
etc., to I, indicate
the city-gates; the
letter m, the Blue
Tower.

DER HOLM.—
Fortified Island
of Danholm.

By courtesy of G. P. Putnam's Sons.
Stralsund.

ism since Luther had stood up to the Emperor Charles V at Worms."

The double duke was also the Admiral of the Oceanic and the Baltic Sea. It was planned to make him King of Denmark. A city on the sea must be taken, a fleet built, and the steam-roller set in motion in Denmark and then also in Sweden.

He sent the Lutheran Count Arnim to seize Stralsund. Christian of Denmark sent Colonel Henry Holk with 400 Danes and Germans and Major Robert Monro* with 900 Scots, later Lord Spynie's regiment of 1,000 Scots. Gustav sent Sir

* Monro was of County Firth, the first in those parts to embrace the Reformation and to remain zealous members of it. He studied humanities at Aberdeen University. In 1626 he volunteered under Sir Donald Mackay, first Lord Reay, and served Denmark at Stralsund so that his men were called "The Invincible Regiment." When the Dane drew out of the war, Monro's regiment took service under Gustav and became his favorite. Monro's motto was "Dread God," and he was "a true Christian and a right traveler." In 1637 he published *Monro His Expedition* etc., etc., a delightful account of his experiences at Stralsund and under Gustav.

Alexander Leslie with 3,500 Swedes and Scots. Wallenstein came in person and vaunted, according to Monro, "I'll have Stralsund, were it chained to heaven." To the citizens he said, "I'll make your city as flat as this table." To the Hanse towns he said, "I'll have Stralsund first and each of you in turn after."

He stormed the gallant city, stormed it for three days, bombarded it for twenty-four hours. On July 24 he went away with a loss of 12,000 men, baffled and humbled. The Swedes remained in Stralsund, which made a treaty with Gustav Adolf. The city made presents to the gallant Leslie and struck a medal in his honor. Gustav gave him an estate in Sweden and a jewel with a miniature likeness and later a yearly pension of 800 riksdollars. He served Sweden for thirty years.

On May 22, 1629, Christian IV made the peace of Luebeck; he saved his hide, but he betrayed England, Holland, and Sweden, writes Richelieu.

The Edict of Restitution.

Against the earnest advice of his trusted Count Rainbold Collalto, who said it would cause a terrible religious war, the Kaiser, on March 6, 1629, issued the notorious Edict of Restitution. This compelled all Lutherans in Catholic countries to deny their faith or be driven out of the country. It gave to the Romanists all the vast church properties the Lutherans had held since the Religious Peace of Passau which Kaiser Karl V had made in 1552. It barred the Reformed from the protection of the Augsburg Confession. With this edict Ferdinand would bribe the Catholic Electors to elect his son Roman king, who would later become kaiser. The electors took the bribe, but did not elect.

The Catholic Wallenstein wished all priests to the devil, especially the Jesuits, whom he blamed for this "unconstitutional" edict; he wanted toleration for the Protestants. Even Pope Urban VIII denied he had approved the edict.

How did it work? In Noerdlingen there was not a single Catholic, yet all the Lutheran church property was turned over to the priests. In Augsburg the Roman religion was forced on the Lutherans at the point of the sword; the Lutheran churches were given to the priests; the Lutheran college was given to the Jesuits; the schools, hospitals, and orphanage were given to the Romanists; the Lutheran children were driven into the churches and forced into Romanism; the Lutherans were not allowed to keep a Bible, and not even in their own homes were they allowed to sing or pray.

Spain tried to conquer the Netherlands. On April 20, 1627, Pope Urban, France, and Spain made a treaty to conquer and Romanize England. The kaiser planned to push his autocratic power over all Germany; Denmark was to be given to Wallenstein. Next would come the fate of Sweden. Wallenstein boasted, "The Roman Empire can settle its war without Gustav Adolf." It could not.

CHAPTER TWO.

Gustav's Youth.

When a new star appeared, Tycho de Brahe, the great Danish astronomer, said he believed it meant the birth of a prince who would do great things in Germany and free the Lutherans from the papists. This prince was born on December 9, 1594, in Sweden's capital, Stockholm, and he is known to fame as Gustav Adolf, "The Lion of the North."

He came of good Lutheran stock. His grandfather was the illustrious Gustav Vasa, who freed Sweden from Denmark and brought in Lutheranism in 1527, made Finland a Lutheran land, and sent preachers to the heathen Lapplanders. When no longer able to speak, the first Protestant prince to be crowned wrote, "Rather die a hundred times than leave the Gospel" — and fell back dead.

Gustav's father, Charles IX, defended the Lutheran preaching against Sigismund

of Poland, who came with 20,000 crowns from the Pope to bring back popery, and routed him in the bloody battle of Strangebro in 1598. He wrote hymns, prayers, and catechisms. Gustav's mother was Christine of Holstein, granddaughter of Landgraf Philip von Hessen, the friend of Luther.

One day the five-year-old would run into the woods near Linköping; the nurse tried to scare him with the big snakes there. "Well, then give me a big stick, and I'll kill them all!" Which ship of the fleet at Kalmar did he like the best? The lad pointed to *The Black Chevalier*. Why? "Because she has the most guns."

The truths of the Lutheran religion were planted deep in his young heart, and the errors of Romanism were carefully pointed out to him. John Skytte was his chief educator; von Moerner of Brandenburg taught him language and science; Count de la Gardie trained him to be a soldier, for which he had a bent.



By courtesy of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

John Skytte.

In addition to Swedish and German "he spoke Latin, Dutch, French, and Italian just as if born to them, understood Spanish, English, and Scotch, and had also

a smattering of Polish and Muscovite," says Oxenstierna. He could translate the Greek classics — "No writer better than Xenophon for a true military historian." He always had by him Grotius, "*On War and Peace*," as Alexander always had Homer by him.

At nine he attended the meetings of the Cabinet. At thirteen he received complaints and ambassadors. At fifteen he became Duke of Vaestmanland and practically coregent with his father.

When the councilors worried about the future, the dying king lovingly pointed to Gustav — "*Ille faciet*," "He will do it."

When seventeen, the "king elect of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals," on December 31, 1611, sat down on the throne of the Vasas.

What from thy fathers thou'st inherited,
Acquire it to possess it.

If ever one followed Goethe's advice, the boy king simply had to do it; he had to defend his throne against three fronts. He chose as his chancellor Axel Oxen-

stierna, only ten years older, and these two young men played the chess of war for a high stake, the national existence of Sweden.

The Danish War.

In the war against Christian IV of Denmark young Gustav fell through the ice, horse and all, in the battle of Lake Widsjoe, but was saved by young Banér.

James I of England married Anne of Denmark, who remained firm in her Lutheran faith and through whom the present English king traces his right to the throne. Now he brought about the needed peace of Knaeroed, on January 19, 1613, between his Danish brother-in-law and the young Swede. In order to regain Elfsborg in time, Gustav sent his own table silver to the mint and gave 30 per cent. of his income in taxes.

The Russian War.

In the war with Russia, Gustav broke a fever by terrific fencing bouts with Count Brahe. Count de la Gardie showed



By courtesy of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The Basin of the Baltic in the Seventeenth Century.

such bravery that the Greeks put him into their calendar. He was to Gustav what Parmenio was to Alexander and Schwerin to Frederick the Great.

Again, through James I, "The Pacifier-General of Europe," the ten years' war was ended by the peace of Stolbova with Czar Michael on February 27, 1617, to the great advantage of Gustav, who was becoming widely known, as Skytte wrote Oxenstierna. Gustav was the only Protestant prince to have contact with the Greek Church, and for her benefit he had Luther's Small Catechism translated into Russian and Finnish. Even the Russians owned the Swedes behaved vastly better than their own Russian troops in their own land.

The Polish War.

Sigismund III of Poland claimed the crown of Sweden; he would bring Sweden under the Pope; he could crush Lutheranism in Livonia. In 1592 he had married Archduchess Anna of Hapsburg. Gustav

had to defend the Swedish liberty and the Lutheran religion. As a measure of protection, Sweden in 1617 ordered the papists out of the realm.

At the siege of Riga, in 1621, Gustav often stripped to the shirt and wielded pick and shovel in the trenches, setting an example to the officers standing round and looking on. Once a shot struck the spot the King had just left; again, several soldiers fell so close that their blood spattered his clothes; a little later a shot passed through his tent grazing his head. Here the gallant Scot Colonel Seaton had his thigh shattered.

Gustav had a hot temper and some years ago had struck Seaton. The Scot, of course, left the service. Gustav rode after him into Denmark and as a private offered him satisfaction in a duel. Seaton was so overcome by this great apology that he fell on his knees and begged to serve Gustav till death. Any wonder men were willing to die for Gustav?

Riga was Gustav's first great siege. His first pitched battle he fought at Walhoff, where he crushed Leo Sapieha. This was to him what Fehrbellin was to be to the Great Elector. Gustav took Elbingen, stepped into a bookstore, and bought a copy of Buchanan's poems.

Before Danzig he fell twice into the enemy's hands, but was rescued by his men. He was wounded in the stomach on May 25, 1627; on August 8 a bullet struck him and stuck in his right shoulder blade till his death.

Charles I sent Sir James Spens with the Garter to Gustav in September, 1627; at Dirschau, on September 23, the King knighted Alexander Leslie before the whole army. This fine officer is said to have decided the battle of Marston Moor for Cromwell. The same honor fell to Patrick Ruthven for service before Dirschau. He was the "field marshal of the bottle and glasses, as he could drink immeasurably and preserve his understand-

ing to the last" and thus extract valuable information from the enemy's officers. He became the Earl of Forth. In this year Gustav opened Sweden as a refuge to all oppressed and exiled Protestants. Also, he sent an expedition to America to preach the Gospel to the heathen and to raise sugar for Sweden.

In February, 1629, Wrangel, with a loss of only 90 men, shattered the 6,000 of Potecki. Count Arnim led an Austrian army of 10,000 horse and foot to help Poland. Gustav was not at war with Austria, and he protested against this breach of the comity of nations. Wallenstein jeered, "My master, the kaiser, has too many troops and so must send a few to his friends." At Marienberg one of the horsemen, a young Frenchman named Sirot, grazed the king's head, but he only lost his hat; it was sent to the kaiser to adorn the shrine of our Lady of Loretto. A few moments later a pistol was already touching the king's ear, but Eric Soop, a

captain of horse, fired first and saved the king's life. Gustav cavalierly complimented the dashing Frenchman. That day Gustav received five musket-balls on his armor. In June, Colonel Morton brought two regiments of Scots.

As Caesar offered peace to Pompey, so Gustav offered peace to Sigismund, who had to taste the bitter cup of defeat. Gustav enlarged his kingdom and secured freedom of worship for the Protestants surrendered to Poland in the truce of September, 1629, secured by Richelieu's man Charnacé and the envoy of Charles I. This was Thomas Roe, who studied at Oxford; in 1609 he was the first Englishman to explore the Amazon for three hundred miles. In 1614 he was the ambassador to Jehangir, the Great Mogul of Hindustan, and England owes much to his success. In 1621 he was sent to Constantinople, to the great benefit of English trade and even of the Christian religion. He was a collector of Greek

manuscripts and brought the celebrated Codex Alexandrinus of the Bible from the Patriarch Cyril Lucaris to England in February, 1629. In June he was sent as ambassador to Poland and Sweden. On August 29 he was received by Gustav. "We treate from one army to another, now lodged in one, now in the other, in the field of Golgotha; the plague is so hott in both that I never saw such a mortalitye in Turkey, India, nor I thinke can be found in Cayro, the seat of the plague, for the number. All the countrye is dispeopled; in 80 English mile not a house to sleepe safe in; no inhabitants except a few poore weomen and children turning dung to find a corne of wheate. I have begun to have my part, one of my kitchen being stroken dead; the French ambassador hath lost 3; the king of Swede 60 servants of his bodye and all his cookes, many of his officers. Our new regiment of English halfe dead and not able to muster 200. . . . More dye, or as many, of famine; bread and water is the best dyet."

By his great tact, Roe got the stubborn Swedes and Poles to sign a truce for six years, in which he also secured trade benefits for England. He was a devout Christian and gave ten per cent. of his income to the poor. He tried to bring the Lutherans and Calvinists to agree and to unite them all with his Church of England. He labored hard to get Charles I to save the oppressed Protestants of Germany by supporting Gustav, whom Roe greatly admired. "He is both head and heart of the kingdom; he is all and worth all. He hath unlimited thoughts and is the likeliest instrument for God to worke by in Europe. . . . He thinks the ship cannot sink that carries him and doth thus oblige prosperitye. . . . His own virtue has endeared him to us and taught us to know how necessary he is to the general welfare and liberty of Christendom, as if he were elect of God for the great work. . . . We all pray for him."

King Charles struck a medal in honor

of Roe, and after Breitenfeld, Gustav sent his "strenuous consultor" 2,000 pounds. It is claimed Gustav admitted he owed it chiefly to Roe's suggestion that he carried the war into Germany. In 1529 Gustav sent Sir James Spens to urge Charles I to support the cause of the Protestants.

CHAPTER THREE.

The Lion Leaps.

Though busy with his Polish war, Gustav kept a sharp eye on the steam-roller of the kaiser. In May, 1615, he ordered a day of prayer for the Lutherans on the Continent. He sent 8 guns and 4,000 balls to Frederick of Bohemia. In August, 1624, Sir James Anstruther and his stepson, Sir James Spens, were sent to ask Gustav to help Frederick regain Bohemia; but James I thought the Swede's conditions "a little too humiliating." Christian IV of Denmark was cheaper —

with disastrous results, as we have seen. In May, 1628, Gustav sent Sir Alexander Leslie with 3,500 Scots and Swedes to Stralsund. The gallant Scot beat off Arnim and even Wallenstein himself.

Gustav said, "If the papists conquer all Germany, the Jesuits and Poles will rule Sweden as the Spaniards rule Germany." What was to be done? "It is by safety of our neighbors that we must secure our own." Gustav defended the liberty and the Lutheran religion of Sweden by defending the liberty of the religion of the German Protestants. How? Attack is the best defense.

Gustav made his conditions for laying down arms. "Could the king of Sweden demand more if he were a conqueror in the midst of Germany?" cried Baron Dohna, the kaiser's envoy. Of course, the conditions were spurned.

In the "House of Knights" the King sat on his throne and spoke to his people. "I take the all-highest God, in whose



By courtesy of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Gustavus Adolphus II.

presence I am sitting, to be my witness that I am not taking on me this contest of my own free will or out of any lust for war, but that for several years I have been notably moved and driven thereto. . . . Moreover, we are likewise called to this task by our grievously oppressed neighbors, friends, and supporters, yes, even by exiled kings. . . . But what above all else weighs with us is our hope that by this means we may free our suffering brethren in the faith from the yoke of the papists, as will, with God's help, shortly come to pass. . . . The greatness of our fatherland and of God's Church, which therein abideth, are things well worthy that for their sakes we should endure hardships, yea, even death itself."

He prayed Ps. 9, 16. 17. He took his four-year-old Christine into his arms and commended her to his people. Amid sobs his people promised their property and lives to the sacred cause, though they num-



By courtesy of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Gustavus Adolphus II.
(Full figure in armor.)

bered a bare million and a half, and many had to eat the bark of trees and acorns.

"I say to all farewell — perhaps forever!"

The die was cast; he crossed his Rubicon, the Baltic. While he is crossing, let us take a look at our hero.

CHAPTER FOUR.

The Christian Warrior.

Gustav's eyes were light-blue, expressive, and piercing; his forehead was lofty; nose, Roman, like Caesar's, Napoleon's, and Wellington's, complexion, fresh and fair; hair and beard, golden yellow, hence "The Golden Lion of the North."

He towered among the tall and was strong of limb, a fine gymnast, a dexterous swordsman, a dashing horseman, in form, features, and bearing a king, "aye, every inch a king."

The king was earnest, liberal, an apt scholar, of broad intellect and iron will,

kind and charitable, of great personal magnetism, but easily angry. He was Sweden's best orator, often reminding one of Bismarck. As Achilles in his tent played the zither, so Gustav played the lute and "dreamed in tones." Like Caesar and Frederick he wrote brilliant comments on the history of his time. His three songs are still sung.

The aristocratic Axel Oxenstierna was his lifelong friend and trusted chancellor, "the equal, if not the superior, of Richelieu" and "a king without the title of a king." The democratic John Skytte taught the king for some years after his coronation and became the first chancellor of the University of Upsala and the founder of the new professorship of Politics and Eloquence still bearing his name. Gustav himself gave the university 350 manors, his own heritage, liberal yearly cash grants, a printing-press, and his own books as a nucleus for a library.

His piety was honest, outwardly and in-



By courtesy of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Axel Oxenstierna,
Chancellor of Sweden.

wardly; he prayed as openly and unreservedly as he spoke. Even in his campaigns he read his Bible daily and at length. What for? "I seek to fortify myself against perverse flatterers by meditating on the sacred Word. A person in my position has a multitude of temptations against which we are never enough on our guard."

His *History of the House of Vasa* begins with the memorable sentence: "God grant me so to live that I may ever live with Christ and on earth may never blush for my own deeds." He held with fidelity to the Lutheran religion and regarded the Augsburg Confession as the best expression of Protestantism. When some proposed a union of the Lutherans and the Calvinists, Axel Oxenstierna was inclined to favor it, but Gustav repelled the suggestion with firmness and had the authors leave the country.

"The jewel of his kingdom" was his mission-work in America, and only a few

days before his death at Luetzen he drew up a new charter — the first one in July, 1626 — for the Swedish West India Company and urged the bishops to commend mission-work among the Indians. Forty-four years before William Penn came to this country, March 29, 1638, Axel Oxenstierna and Peter Minuit founded New Sweden on the Delaware, where Wilmington now is, bought land from the Iroquois chief Metasiment, built the first Lutheran church, and sent the first Lutheran minister, the thirty-year-old Reorus Torkillus. Pastor John Campanius came over with Captain Johann Printz in 1643 and was the first to translate a book for the Indians — Luther's Small Catechism. "Should not John Campanius rather than John Eliot be called, in Bancroft's words, 'the morning star of missionary enterprises'?" asks L. P. Powell in his *History of Education in Delaware*. Eliot did not begin work among the Massachusetts Indians till 1646.

What the Spanish war was to Hannibal and the Gallic war to Caesar and the Egyptian campaign to Napoleon, the Polish war was to Gustav. In these years he learned valuable lessons in war, he trained a brilliant array of officers, and turned his peasant louts into heroic warriors. They were well armed, well clothed, well fed, well disciplined. "On pain of death no soldier may fire a house, insult a citizen, or steal." No need to steal, for the king was prompt in paying as he was prompt in praying. He was the first to commission chaplains, who preached every Sunday and often during the week and led in prayer every morning and evening. In the morning they usually sang the king's favorite morning hymn: —

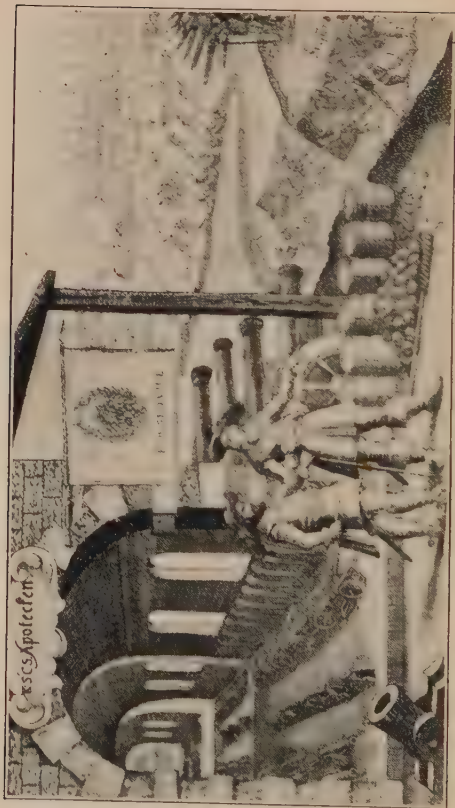
My inmost heart now raises
In this fair morning hour
A song of thankful praises
To Thine almighty power.

The king also introduced a *Soldier's Prayer-book* and thus led the way for Cromwell's *Soldier's Bible*. He showed

that a man can carry his Bible into camp and use his saber arm better than the best of mere fire-eaters. The sight of officers and privates kneeling side by side in prayer made a deep impression on Europe. Gustav introduced the merit system, and favoritism was unknown; the foreigners had no cause to complain, not even the Romanists in his service.

Gustav banished the wild women usually hanging around the camps and encouraged marriage. Gambling, profanity, dueling, were forbidden. The story goes two officers at last got leave to fight. Gustav went to the place. "Now, gentlemen, at it! And stop you not till one is killed. And I have brought the provost marshal to behead the other." Tableau!

Daniel Defoe's Cavalier says in his Memoirs: "When I saw the Swedish troops, their exact discipline, their order, the modesty and familiarity of their officers, and the regular living of the soldiers, their camp seemed a well-ordered



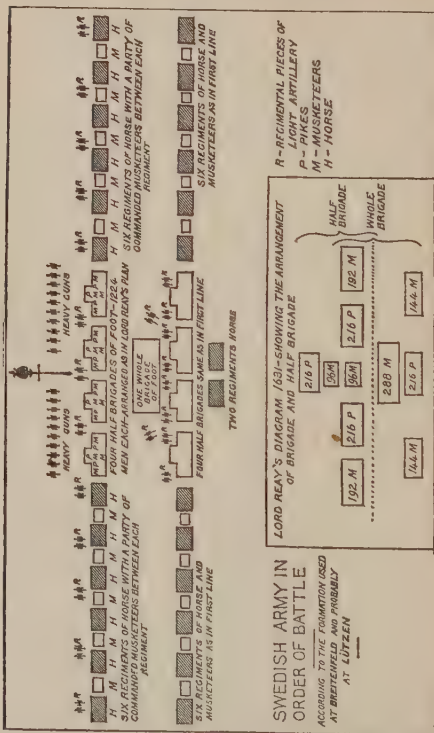
Gustav Adolf's "Drug Store."

city; the meanest countrywomen with her market ware was as safe from violence as in the streets of Vienna.

Gustav was a great organizer and a good engineer. He was the first to introduce uniforms, medicine-chests, and field hospitals.

He was the first to pass rapid rivers in the teeth of the enemy. He was the first to show what artillery could do; he introduced the famous leather cannon, invented by Wurmbrandt and last used by Breitenfeld, which fired eight shots to six of a musket. He lightened the muskets and introduced paper catridges. He was the first to see the advantage of mobility over weight. As the flexible Roman legion broke down the heavy Macedonian phalanx at Cynocephalae in 197 B. C., so two thousand years later Gustav's flexible regiments broke down the heavy massed phalanx of Austria and Spain.

Gustav was a soldier to his finger-tips. Except Alexander no great captain showed



By courtesy of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

the Homeric love of battle as it burned in the breast of the royal Swede. Danton said, "Audacity, again audacity, always audacity." Well, Gustav had it. He was wounded thirteen times.

No wonder his men were devoted to him. Denhoff's Livonian regiment had a standard of black silk damask embroidered with Abraham's offering of Isaac and the inscription, "As Abraham would offer his son, we are ready to die for our king."

CHAPTER FIVE.

The Career of the Liberator Begins.

On June 25, 1630, one hundred years to the day after the reading of the Augsburg Confession, Gustav cast anchor before the Pomeranian island of Usedom to defend the Augsburg Confession. The next day he was the first to land. He fell on his knees and prayed aloud to God.



Gustav Adolf Lands at Peenemuende, Island of Usedom, Pomerania.

With a spade he then traced out the camp; he believed in "dry powder and earnest prayers," like Cromwell after him.

In 1615, 1619, 1621, and 1622 Gustav had been begged for help. Cardinal Richelieu wrote: "The King of Sweden is a new sun, just risen; young, but of vast renown. The ill-treated banished princes of Germany in their misfortune have turned their eyes toward him as the mariner does to the polar star."

Baron Hercules de Charnacé had just traveled through Germany and told Gustav in March, 1630, all men awaited him as a Messiah, and Wallenstein had written the same to Collalto.

Now, here was Gustav with a handful of soldiers and not enough bread to feed his hungry men.

How was he welcomed? The Duke of Pommerland begged for neutrality. The Elector of Brandenburg, Gustav's own brother-in-law, forbade him to set foot on his soil; so did the Elector of Saxony.



By courtesy of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Emperor Ferdinand II.

Swollen with triumph, Kaiser Ferdinand airily said, "Well, well, so we have one more little enemy!" His flatterers jested, "The Snow King will melt as he nears the Southern sun." Wallenstein, however, wrote Collalto the Swede was "a worse foe than the Turk."

All alone Gustav attacked the Kaiser of the Holy Roman Empire and the victorious generals Tilly and Wallenstein. Captain Hart writes: "Alexander setting out for Asia to attack the vast Persian empire and its armed millions, Hannibal crossing the Alps to challenge the Roman power at its seat, were not more daring than this seeming gambler's throw by Gustav, with the odds so heavily against him." Colonel Dodge says Gustav's plan of campaign was "the first crisply strategic series of operations since the days of Caesar."

"If God be for us, who can be against us?" was the golden legend of many Swedish banners. In short order Gustav

took Usedom, Wollin, Wolgast, Kamin. On a Saturday, Donald Mackay, Lord Reay, took a gate of Stettin. On Sunday, Gustav went to church three times, telling his soldiers that, though war might be their amusement, religion was their business.

The garrison of 3,000 under Damitz took service under Gustav and became the excellent White Brigade. The king had a high opinion of the German soldier, and Banér preferred him under Swedish leadership to the Swede. With 700 shipwrecked Scots, Robert Monro took Ruegenwalde, for which he was warmly praised by the king. Damm, Stargard, Kolberg, Greifenhagen, were taken. When the kaiser's field marshal, Torquato Conti, "the Butcher of Pasewalk," could not stem the onward rush, Quinti del Ponte, a deserter and traitor, made an attempt on Gustav's life and was almost successful.

At Ratisbon the Catholic elector and Richelieu's Capuchin Father Joseph got

the kaiser to "thank off" the brilliant Wallenstein. With them the Protestant electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, on August 3, wrote Gustav, telling him to go home. The Lutheran Christian IV was ready to plunge his Danish dagger into the back of the Swede.

The Romans called Hannibal perfidious because he surprised them; Gustav also broke all the orthodox rules of war and at Garz surprised the enemy. Instead of resting in winter quarters, he had service Christmas morning and then stormed the camp of Duke Ferdinand of Capua, cut to pieces three regiments, even Wallenstein's own, and captured the rest. People began to call him "Gustav the Great." Before Garz he was ambushed and captured; luckily he was not recognized, and his rear rushed up and cut him out.

Baerwalde.

Richelieu persecuted the Protestants in France, but he feared the growing power of Hapsburg, and so this Roman cardinal

helped the Lutheran king fight the Roman kaiser. At Baerwalde, on January 23, 1631, he gave the Swede a lump sum of



By courtesy of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Jean Armand du Plessis,
Cardinal and Duke of Richelieu.

20,000 *thalers* and 40,000 a year for six years to keep in the field 30,000 foot and 6,000 horses. France was called "Catholic

at home, Protestant abroad." No wonder Richelieu was called *cardinalis haereticus*.

New Brandenburg, Loitz, and Malchin fell. Banér took Demmin from the Duke of Savelli. Here Gustav broke through the ice; musket-balls rained around him; Monro's captain Dumaine hastened to help. The king waved the Scot away and escaped unhurt; he lunched heartily on some cold meat and a glass of Bacharach wine and then changed his wet clothes in a cold tent. Any wonder Gustav was a hero to his soldiers? Like Homer's Agamemnon he was an *anax andron*, a leader of men.

A wounded Swede was left by the Swedes. Potley, an English cavalier of Monro's regiment, gathered some Scots and rescued him. Another English officer, Heatley, also distinguished himself. It seems smoking came into Germany with the coming of the Swedes. On the first day of the siege, Robert Ross, a Scotch officer, at the head of his regiment, dur-

ing a sharp cannonade "sate blowing of tobacco." Struck with the cannon-ball, he dropped his pipe with great calmness, cried, "The Lord receive my soul!" and died at once. At another time — "The next shot killed a sergeant of mine by the fire drinking a pipe of tobacco," writes Monro.

With 15,000 Tilly attacked New Brandenburg, desperately defended by Kniphausen for nine days with but 2,000 men, of whom four hundred were killed in battle. Excepting Kniphausen and sixty men, all of them, and all males of the town, were massacred; six hundred Scots with Colonel Lindsay were killed. All women were violated and the city sacked.

At Frankfort-on-the-Oder all the Scotch regiments were formed into the Green Brigade, commanded by Sir John Hepburn, who as a young man of twenty had followed Sir Andrew Gray; to-day this command is known as the "Royal Scots." The

place was defended by Marshal Tiefenbach, Count Schaumberg, General Montecuculi, Colonel Sparre, and others. Helped by Hepburn and Lumsdell, the king himself placed a petard on a gate, which sent it flying, and on rushed the men.

"The king called Sir John Hepburn and Lumsden to him before the assault and bade them remember their countrymen slain at New Brandenburg. Lumsdell therefore, with his regiment of English and Scots, and Hebron with his High Dutchers press upon that sally-port, ever the enemy's bullets flying thick as hail. Lumsdell, with his drawn sword in his hand, cries, 'Let's enter, my heart,' and thrusting himself in among the thickest of them, his men follow as resolutely. . . . And by this time, the greater gate being broken open, Hebron and Lumsdell, entering in with their men, made a most pitiful slaughter; and when any imperialist cried, 'Quarter,' 'New Brandenburg' cries the other and knocks him down. . . . Here

did Lumsdell take eighteen colors; yea, such testimony showed he of his valor that the king after the battle bade him ask what he would and he would give it to him.'" So says *The Swedish Intelligencer*, so beloved of Miles Standish that it stood next to his Bible. Monro writes: "My Major Sinclaire was shot, the enemy hanging out a goose in derision." Hepburn was hit in the knee, "which, dazzling his senses with great pain, forced him to retire, who said to me, 'Bully, Monro, I am shot,' whereat I was wondrous sorry."

Because citizens had also fought, Gustav gave the city over to plunder for three hours. Then, sword in hand, he rushed among the hungry soldiers to stop them.

Poyntz writes that Gustav, "keeping good command, got the good will of the country that they adored him wheresoever he came like a God come from heaven." "Then came Gustavus Horne, out of the Land of Prizon [Preussen], with 6,000 fresh souldiers, having under his Com-

mand the Regiment of old Sir James Ramsey, a Scottish man."

Monro was uneasy about the reprisal and at the battle's having been fought on the "Sabbath," Palm Sunday, April 13. While the assault was made by the Scots, the last stand for the kaiser was made by Colonel Walter Butler's plucky Irish.

The kaiser's four cowardly generals deserted Frankfort and blamed Butler for the loss. Gustav would not eat a bite at supper till he saw that brave Irishman. The wounded hero was carried in on a couple of pikes. "O thou brave man! . . . Now my physician shall attend you, and nothing withheld that can administer to your ease and happiness." He wrote out a fine testimonial of the soldier's courage and signed it and all his officers. "When knighthood was in flower." This Butler was a brother of the one that later killed Wallenstein.

Gustav took strong Landsberg, where 5,000 soldiers were followed by 2,500 loose

women, who were often dressed in the richly embroidered vestments stolen from the churches and who were wont to get drunk out of the stolen communion vessels. Defoe's *Cavalier* estimates they usually equaled the fighting force of the Catholics.

Whither?

The path of gain and glory led to Vienna, there to dictate terms of peace to the kaiser; the path of duty and honor led to Magdeburg, besieged by Pappenheim and Tilly with 24,000 men, defended by the gallant Dietrich von Falkenberg with only 2,000. The king decided to relieve Magdeburg. But! His own brother-in-law would not let him pass through Brandenburg; he feared the king, and he feared the kaiser. "Poor man," says Carlyle; "it was his fate to stand in the range of these huge collisions, where the Titans were hurling rocks at one another, and he hoped by dexterous skipping to escape share of the game." Gustav said

and repeated, "I tell you that no middle course is possible; the Rubicon is crossed, the die is cast; the fight is between God and the devil, and there is no third side. What sort of thing is neutrality? I know not the word." As Wellington in the Peninsula, so Adolf in Germany had to keep open his communications with the sea; no enemy was to be in the rear. If this one army was lost, there was none other to take its place. It is just for this reason that Napoleon the Great — and who is a more competent critic? — classed the royal Swede among the world's great captains — Alexander, Caesar, Hannibal, Turenne, Eugene, Frederick, and himself, and he was no generous critic.

Elector John George I, the most powerful Protestant prince, fearing the kaiser and fearing the foreigner, refused the king passage through Saxony. The mighty Nimrod spent his time killing 113,629 wild animals and earning the glorious title of "Beer King," "who loved his Merseburg



By courtesy of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

John George I.

beer barrels more than the Protestant cause." His influential court preacher, Hoe von Hoenegg, was thought to be in the pay of the papists. "The Saxon chan-

cellor is a good kaiser man," wrote an officer of the kaiser.

This laudable Lutheran leader called the Leipzig Convention of 62 Protestant princes in February and March of 1631. "After the manner of the children of the world they were very gay and merry, had all kinds of pastime and banquetings, and all that to strengthen the Word of God and liberty. These wine heroes toiled very hard, like the bishop who scorched his fingers on the roast and cried, 'What must not we suffer for the kingdom of Christ!'" Yes, they petitioned the kaiser "with all due obedience and reverence." That is what they did for Magdeburg.

The kaiser rejected the petition with threats, and Vienna sang sneering songs about the "Lutheran puppies."

Owing to the cowardice of Brandenburg and Saxony, Magdeburg, "Our Lord God's Chancellory," which had defied the armies of Kaiser Karl V, fell on May 20, 1631. While his herald was still treating

in the city, Tilly ordered an assault. His treachery is on a par with that of Caesar against the Usipetes and Tenchtheri.

"The wild iron-eater, the grim lion," Falkenberg, was one of the first to be killed. Cossacks speared little children, galloped through the streets, whirling them over their heads, then flinging them into the flames; one did this to twenty. Others boasted they had roasted them in the ovens. Fifty-three women were beheaded in one church. To escape outrage from these wild beasts, women killed themselves; from one house twenty girls rushed into the Elbe River to drown. Sir Thomas Roe, the English envoy, reports 40,000 Lutherans were butchered. Sickened at the sight, some of his own officers spoke to Tilly. "Do you think my men are nuns? The soldier must have something for his trouble." Fire broke out at once in many places; excepting the noble Cathedral, the whole city was a heap of ashes. On the 23d Tilly entered the ruins,



General Tilly at Magdeburg.

Midnight Lion.

repeating Vergil's description of the destruction of Troy, and dispatched to the kaiser: "Since the sack of Troy and Jerusalem, history has never seen such a victory. And sincerely do I pity the ladies of your imperial family that they could not be present as spectators of the same." Neronian ladies!

As Saguntum saved itself from Hannibal in 219 B. C., as Numantia saved itself from Scipio in 133 B. C., as Moscow saved itself from Napoleon, so the "Lutheran Lucretia" fired herself to leave to the victor nothing but an ash-heap, in the opinion of Egelhaaf.

My Church! My Church! My dear old Church!

I've heard the tale of blood,

Of hearts who loved her to the death —

The great, the wise, the good.

Our martyred sires defied the fires

For Christ, the Crucified;

The once-delivered faith to keep,

They burned, they bled, they died.

One of the most gripping creations of modern art is the "Mourning Magdeburg" on the Luther Monument at Worms.

The horrible fate of the martyr city sent a shudder through the Protestant world; but the "liberties of Germany arose out of the ashes of Magdeburg," in the opinion of Schiller. In January, 1632, Leslie retook the city and was wounded at Buxtehude.

Brandenburg was between the hammer and the anvil, "a grayne of corne between two milstones, brused to make bread for others." On June 11 Gustav trained his cannon on Berlin. The Kurfuerst George William understood that language, crawled out of his neutrality, and made a treaty with his brother-in-law. Ake Tott took Greifswald from Perusi and cleared all Pomerania of the kaiser's men. Banér stormed Havelberg. Gustav installed his cousins, the banished Dukes of Mecklenburg, in their duchy.

In August, 1631, James, third Marquis and first Duke of Hamilton, near the Scottish throne, came with 26,000 pounds from Charles I and with 6,000 English

and 1,000 Scots. The Tommies overfed themselves with new honey; the German beer played havoc with them; the German bread gave them terrible pangs — Crane suggests it must have been pumpernickel. They were soon reduced to two regiments, then to only one.

Half of Gustav's infantry were foreigners. Of British alone, mainly Scots, there were 6 generals, 30 colonels, 51 lieutenant-colonels, 14 majors, and 10,000 men — the Hepburns, the Lindsays; the Bruces, the Spences, the Ramsays, the Drummonds, the Mackays, the Setons, the Ruthvens, the Leslie's, the Monros, and the rest of the clans. It is written 3 generals, 8 colonels, 5 lieutenant-colonels, 11 majors, 30 captains, and many petty officers were all Monros.

Colonel Monro wrote: "I serve with great pleasure such a general, and I could find with difficulty a similar man who was accustomed to be the first and the last where there is danger; who gained the

love of his officers by the part he took in their troubles and fatigues; who knew so well how to trace the rules of conduct for his warriors according to times and circumstances; who divined the projects and knew the resources of his enemies; their plans, their forces, their discipline, alike the nature and positions of the places they occupied."

At Barnow, Monro found the beer remarkably good, but, "My choice of all beers is Serbester [Zerbster], being the wholesomest for the body and the cleerest from all filth or barme, as their religion is the best for the soule and cleerest from the dregs of superstition."

Werben.

At Werben the king was strengthened by 8,000 troops, brought by his queen in person. Bernard of Weimar came, and Landgraf William of Hesse-Cassel, great grandson of Landgraf Philip. Monro says they "were the first that did hazard

with a private convoy to come to His Majesty through their enemies and who were therefore joyfully received." Pestilence stalked abroad in the camp; Monro lost thirty men in his own regiment alone.

Tilly attacked the camp; Gustav with but 16,000 men twice drove back Tilly's 26,000 troops with a loss of 6,000. Tilly went into Saxony, burning 200 villages.

That fiery language even the Saxon could understand. He cried for help and made an abject surrender. "He damned himself soule and body if ever he will forsake His Majesty and his crowne, if then he will but help him to beate the enemy out of his country again," writes Monro. Tilly threatened not to spare the babe in the womb if Leipzig did not surrender; Leipzig surrendered. Gustav crossed the Elbe at Leipzig and joined the Saxons at Dueben.

Monro says the Saxons looked "as if they were going in their best apparel and arms to be painted," whereas the Swedes,

"having lyen overnight on a parcell of plowed ground, they were so dusty they looked out like kitchin servants." When it was decided to fight, Monro's heart leaped for joy. "I was longing to see a day when I might hazard my life . . . for the liberty of our distressed brethren in Christ." Good old Scot and good old scout.

At Breitenfeld, near Leipzig, the foes met for a decisive battle. The defeat of Gustav would seem to have been the end of Protestantism.

Tilly, the seventy-year-old veteran, with the laurels of thirty-six pitched battles, on his famous white charger, in old-fashioned Walloon dress, hailed by the joyful cry, "Father!" held the center; Pappenheim with his 5,000 black cuirassiers, the finest in the kaiser's service, was on the left; Fuerstenberg and Isolani, with horse from Italy, held the right. "Jesus! Mary!" was their battle-cry.

On the left the splendidly equipped



By courtesy of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Tilly.

Saxons under Arnim and the Elector. In touch with them, Swedes under Horn, the field marshal and second in command. On the right, cavalry under Gustav and Banér.

In the center, foot under Teuffel and Hall, Scots under Monro, Ramsay, and Hepburn, who was thirty years old and commanded the Scots.

Gustav was poorly clad, without helmet and breastplate; he wore a buff coat, a gray hat with a green plume. Monro says: "The whole army did get green branches on their heads, and the word was given, 'God with us,' a little, short speech made by His Majesty, we marched towards the enemy." Gustav commanded, "Do not fire till you can see the whites of the enemy's eyes."

The battle was opened by a cannonade from 12 to 2.30. Tortenson's guns "answered theirs with *three shots for one*," writes Gustav.

Pappenheim could stand it no longer and to Tilly's dismay and disgust charged the Swedes with all his 5,000 picked cuirassiers. He was received with fearful volleys from the musketeers. Out darted Johan Banér on reeling Pappenheim. After

seven heroic charges he was broken; the survivors fled to Halle. To support Pappenheim, Tilly had sent a regiment of foot under Holstein; it was cut to pieces, and the duke was wounded; he died at Eilenburg, where Martin Rinckart was pastor from 1617 till his death in 1649 and wrote his very fine hymn "Now Thank We All Our God," which was later sung by grim Frederick's men at the great victory of Leuthen.

Fuerstenberg at the first rush routed the Saxons. The elector was in the rear; he spurred away and never stopped till he reached Eilenburg, ten miles away, where he quenched his good thirst with good beer.

Tilly now outnumbered the Swedes three to one and with his veteran Spanish center tried to flank Horn. The two Scottish regiments under Hepburn and Monro first fired by platoons, so surprising to the veteran Cronenberg and his fine Walloon infantry that they gave ground with all speed. At about four

o'clock, Gustav strengthened Horn with the German Vitzshum and the Scottish Hepburn brigades and sent the West Gothland horse right across the battle from the right wing, with the rest of the cannon on the enemy. Brilliant! "Never in modern days had the chances of battle been improved by so rapid, so masterly, so bold a maneuver," comments Colonel Dodge.

Four regiments of Walloons fought desperately, fought on their knees when they could no longer stand. They held out as the ranks of Porus on the Hydaspes, as the Russians would at Kunersdorf. At last, towards nightfall, the stampede began. Only 600 were left to rally round Father Tilly, with three shots in his body, and cut their way out. The rough old veteran prayed, cursed, threatened, wept with rage — all to no avail. Gustav crushed the victor of many pitched battles.

Only 600 of Tilly's and 1,400 of Pappenheim's men escaped; 10,000 were

killed, and 5,000 were prisoners, who took service with the king. Rich plunder, all the cannons, and 106 standards, and 6,000 wagons fell into the hands of the Swedes. The Saxons lost 3,000 in flight, the Swedes 2,100 in fight. With one quarter of all troops engaged, the Swedes had all the victory and glory, Tilly and the Saxons all the defeat and disgrace.

According to Poyntz, Tilly's men were so eager to pillage the fleeing Saxons he could not get them back to fight. "Another cause of Tilly his overthrow was the richnesse of his souldiers, especially of his horsemen, who were so rich in gold about them, which they had taken the day before at Lypwicke [Leipzig], and seeing it like to be a bloody day, the King of Swede being come unlooked for, and loth to loose so soon their richesse with their lives, many troops of horse went from hym, even when they were to goe to fight; which is a maxime, A rich soldier will never fight well."

The Saxon elector returned after the battle and "made Proclamation that they that had fled from their colors should bee hanged, when in right hee deserved it best, for hee fled hymself first. But finding mee there, said, 'Little Englishman' (for so he called mee), you fled to; you deserve to be hanged for you runne from your Colours also. But I told his grace that my Colours runne from mee, and then, quoth I, it was tyme for me to runne also; for hee that carryed them runne away, as the rest did, and threw his Colours away, and I coming after tooke them up and here they are, and so I delivered them to his grace. With that he praised mee exceedingly, but gave mee nothing, but afterwards when hee went into the field from Drayson [Dresden], hee maide me Capn of a troop of horse."

Knowing that the race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong, the king kneeled on the bloody ground to give thanks to God for the victory, and all

near him joined him. "With Gustav such sincerity was inbred, — like the unspoken battle prayers of Stonewall Jackson." At the evening meal the whole army joyously sang Luther's battle-hymn "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God."

Gustav gave credit to Horn's Finnish and Swedish horse and to Hepburn's Scotch foot and publicly thanked the thirteen Scotch regiments with their thousand officers, mostly Highlanders. The Green Brigade proudly promised to serve him still better in the future.

The "Snow King" was now hailed as the "New Gideon," the "Midnight Lion," the "Northland Hero," the "Lion of the North," "Bulwark of the Faith." Thanksgiving services were held in all Protestant churches.

In the papal churches they prayed, "Deliver us from the devil, the Swedes, the Finns, and the Lapps, and the Swedish devil and Antichrist."

Vienna was "dumb with fright" as

Rome on the news of the defeat of Varus. The kaiser got ready to flee to Graz in the wilds of Steiermark.

Breitenfeld was "the first great battle of the modern era. Gustav's tactics there added more to the art of war than any that had been invented since Caesar." Colonel Dodge calls Gustav "an Alexander in audacity, a Caesar in intelligence." Captain Liddell Hart, the British military critic, says Gustav "proved himself as fine a battle captain as any in the roll of history."

Breitenfeld was an epoch in war, showing for the first time on a great scale the superiority of quickness over massed weight.

Breitenfeld was an epoch in history. In one memorable year the lone Swede crushed forever the autocracy of Hapsburg in Germany and freed forever the Lutherans of Northern Germany.

"Germany might tear herself and be torn to pieces for yet another half genera-

tion, but the actual result of the Thirty Years' War was as good as accomplished."

"Now for the first time since the days of Martin Luther there was displayed before the eyes of our people the figure of a man towards whom all must look either in love or in hate," writes Treitschke.

On the field of battle there is a plain gray sandstone on which we read: —

*Gustav Adolf, Christ und Held,
Rettete bei Breitenfeld
Glaubensfreiheit fuer die Welt.*

Gustav Adolf, Christian and hero, at Breitenfeld saved religious liberty for the world. The *Cambridge Modern History* agrees with this triplet.

Merseburg was taken, and Halle, where Gustav held a thanksgiving service in the cathedral. The elector and many other princes visited Gustav, and an evening was given to festivities. Gustav disliked drinking and took Monro by the shoulder and said, "I wish, Monro, you could be master of the bottles and glasses to-night in the absence of old Major-General Sir Patrick

Ruthven; but you want a strength of head to relieve on such an occasion." "His Majesty, . . . holding me fast by the hand, calling the Duke of Saxony, declared unto him what service our nation had done to his father and him and the best last at Leipzig [Breitenfeld], commending in particular to the duke Colonel Hepburn and Lumsdell. . . . Oh, would to God I had once such a leader again to fight such another day in this old quarrel! And though I died standing, I should be persuaded I died well."

CHAPTER SIX.

The Career of the Liberator Continues.

On to Vienna! advised Count Horn for military reasons. On to Vienna! advised Oxenstierna for political reasons. On to Vienna! advised the Saxon elector, who would put the kaiser's crown on the

head of Gustav. Even Poyntz asks, "What might hee not have donne to Vienna it self, having none to oppose hym, and coming with a conquering Army, all would have yielded to hym."

As Hannibal after Cannae did not march on Rome, so Gustav after Breitenfeld did not march on Vienna. He would not leave the pleading Protestants in the West and South to the mercy of the papists. Again he avoided the path of gain and glory and chose the path of duty and honor and thus again showed of what stuff he was made. "For seventeen hundred years no one had looked on war with so large an intelligence. . . . His mission was to abolish the Quixotism of his day," says Colonel Dodge.

Ten days after Breitenfeld Duke William of Hessen took Erfurt. Koenigshofen fell to the heavy guns of "the Swedish Lightning," "the crooked Torstenson," a brilliant mind in a crooked body, crooked from disease.

On to Wuerzburg! "Hee was there before any could imagine" and took the town. But the strong castle of Marienburg resisted. "With his owne Country souldiers and the finelanders . . . the king set very furiously hymself, with his sword in his hand and his sleeve naked up to the Elbos encouraging his Souldiers and at length tooke" the first trench. Colonels Ramsay, Leslie, Lillie, and Burt took the castle — one of the boldest deeds of the whole war. A cannon ball covered Gustav with mortar, a bullet tore off his glove, another wounded him in the breast.

The king praised the Scots, commending the officers by name.

Gustav confiscated the property of the Jesuits, "the enemies of the human race," and the Protestant worship was restored. Being so strong, Marienburg had been the safe-deposit vault, and rich booty fell to the victors. "The private souldiers found such an infinite deale of Wealthe in the Towne, besides the ten million, that syluer

was not esteemed: and syluer plate and guilt boles were trodden unter their feet. Rich apparell and ornaments would not bee looked upon." And Salvius opines: "Our Finnish boys make rich wine soup in their helmets; they will hardly care to go back to their savolax."

Not a woman was insulted, not a child frightened.

"No sooner was the Towne and Castle taken but in came some 200 of the Nobility and Gentry there about and fell downe upon their knees before hym, to whome the king came out of the Castle, beeing all bloody, with his bloody sword in his hand, and his Arme naked, beckoned to them to stand up . . . that hee would bee a father to them and that hee would shed his dearest blood for them. The Nobility and Gentry hearing this, presently cried out, 'God blesse hym!'"

What a wonderful portrait of the Lutheran Swede by that simple English soldier Poyntz, a Romanist!

Hepburn and Monro with 800 men took Ochsenfurt. "This beeing done, the king marched day and night to bring all in fright to the Citty of Swinford [Schweinfurt], the head Cittie in Frankenland; but the Lords of the Cittie hearing of his comming, met hym two Leagues from the Cittie, with their keyes in their hands, falling on their knees, desiring hee would take them into his protection, who bid them arise and marched with them to the Citty, the Citizens having strewed their Streets with rushes and their Streets and houses with hangings, receaved hym as one come from heaven."

About this time only 200 Scots were left out of the 2,000 of Sir James Ramsay's regiment Gustav had brought with him from Sweden, "the Invincible Regiment."

Rothenburg was taken after a stiff fight. The king marched towards Bavaria. France threatened force if the Swede entered Bavaria; he entered Bavaria. Pope Urban VIII said, "The King of Sweden

has chosen the wiser and surer part. He would commit a great mistake if he should turn elsewhere before having conquered Maximilian" — who was treacherous. At Windsheim "the Governor sounded a Parley and fell to the King of Swedeland with hymself and 5 Companies of soul-diers." "The Lords of the Towne of Dinkellspeel [Dinkelsbuehl] sent his Army Prouision, as bread, wine, and flesh."

Powerful Nuernberg promised to stand by Gustav till their last drop of blood, also Anspach and Bayreuth. Hanau was stormed by Colonel Dewbatel, or Mac Dougal. On November 18 Gustav headed his 16,000 troops and 56 guns in a solemn march through Frankfort-on-the-Main — it took eight hours. Landgraf George of Hessen-Darmstadt came to him — a doubtful ally. An attempt on Gustav's life was made by a priest of Antwerp. Bets were laid in Augsburg that the king would not live six months.

Warned against exposing himself reck-

lessly to so many dangers, Gustav once replied, "Mr. Ambassador, one cannot take cities by drawing lines in the tent. When the teacher is away, the pupils are at play." Again: "Believe me, I love a comfortable life as well as any man, and I have no desire to die an early death. The kaiser would readily make a separate peace with me to get me back to Sweden. But I dare not leave so many innocent people subject to his revenge. Were it not for this, I would soon get me gone." When his German associates quarreled among themselves, he once said, "I would rather herd swine in my own country than have to do with such a nation of imbeciles."

Oppenheim was taken from the Spaniards — "Brave Scots, brave Scots!" said Gustav.

Mainz.

The Elector-Archbishop Anselm Casimir asked, "Can you hold Mainz?" Don Philip de Sylva answered, "Sir, I have

men enough to defeat three kings of Sweden." The one King of Sweden celebrated his thirty-seventh birthday by entering with great pomp, ordering a thanksgiving service in the Catholic cathedral, and lodging in the elector's palace. The city paid 80,000 *thalers*, the Catholic clergy likewise, the Jesuits paying half. As the papists had sent the Heidelberg library to the Vatican, so Gustav gave the elector's library to a Swedish university; but, alas! it was lost in the Baltic. Before Mainz the king was again almost captured.

The Protestant services were restored. Gustav confiscated the property of the Jesuits and called this "The Jesuits' War." But they were safe from personal violence; he was nobly tolerant, says Monro; and this in 1631.

The King held a brilliant court. His queen came on January 8 with 8,000 troops and also Chancellor Oxenstierna. The Landgraf of Hessen was there and



· Pope Urban VIII.

many other princes and envoys from Holland, France, and England. On February 10 came the King of Bohemia from England, and with him Milord Craven. Spain retained few places in the Pfalz, but the bigoted Calvinist Frederick V would not promise toleration to the Lutherans, and so Gustav kept it till peace should be made. Sir Henry Vane was bluntly told the small sums of money sent by Charles I were a disgrace to England; at least 12,000 troops must be sent. Defoe's *Cavalier* also writes his disgust with his country in this matter.

Urban VIII almost openly sided with the Lutheran Gustav against the Catholic Ferdinand II. In 1624 the Pope was allied with the Turk against Catholic Spain, and so great was his dread of the growing power of Hapsburg that he refused every penny to the kaiser, since this was no religious war, but one only for the increase of the power of Hapsburg. "Austria and Spain have by their oppressions

brought the Swede from the farthest North, and God Himself has raised him up to protect us." Stories of Alarics and Attilas might serve well to embellish a romance, but Karl V had desolated all Italy and sacked Rome itself. The Protestant Visigoth persecuted less than the Catholic Caesar, since the wars of Gustav affected neither the consciences of men nor the altars of the Supreme Being; fewer outrages and acts of rapine and cruelty had been committed after the battle of Breitenfeld than had been perpetrated in Italy at and after the siege of Mantua.

Certainly a remarkable speech coming from a Pope. No wonder Cardinal Pazmany says: "The holy and infallible Father has extracted more notions of doctrine from Tacitus and Machiavelli than from the evangelists and the apostles."

The Romans waited on the Pope on the Capitoline Hill with a declaration that God in His mercy had called from the

farthest North the King of Sweden, who, by thwarting the designs of Austria and Spain, was rendering to Christian Rome services like those of Camillus to the pagan city.

How curious! The Catholic kaiser risking his all against the "Lutheran Antichrist," the Pope favoring the "Lutheran Antichrist"! Politics makes strange bed-fellows. The Czar of Russia sent an offer to help. Even Cousin Sigismund of Poland sent congratulations. Nothing succeeds like success.

Gustav had carved his victorious path from the Baltic to the Alps and was absolute ruler. He had done a year's work without equal in all military history. He was the most powerful king of the earth and the most brilliant person of his time. The kaiser was humbled; Poland refused aid. Gustav could have claimed the crown of Germany; he did not; his intentions were pure.

Louis XIII of France said to the

Venetian ambassador, "It is time to stop this Goth." So thought the Dane. So thought the Saxon. So thought other Lutherans. If his brother-in-law Frederick V were restored to the Pfalz, Charles I promised to turn his English army against Gustav. In February, Sir James Turner, out of the University of Glasgow, landed at Rostock and helped the Duke of Brunswick defeat the kaiser's men at the siege of Hameln.

About the middle of February, Gustav left Mainz to open the campaign of 1632. Before strong Kreuznach he almost lost his life; a musketeer next to him had his head shot off. After two weeks of siege a storm was ordered. The Anglo-Scots sprang forward for the honor of leading. Under Lord Craven, then very young, Colonel Talbot, and Mr. Masham, supported by the Swedes, they captured the garrison after a stiff fight for two hours. Not one of the English officers came off unhurt. Talbot was killed close by

Craven, who was hit in the thigh, Sir Francis Vane, brother of Lord Westmoreland, was shot in the hip, Masham was hurt. As a compliment to his gallantry, Alexander Ramsay was made governor of Mainz and Sir Patrick Ruthven of Ulm, just then come over. This beloved rough old martinet had served Sweden as early as 1606. He now received the county of Kirchberg, worth 1,800 pounds.

On March 21 Gustav marched against Tilly into Nuernberg, where "the new Joshua, Gideon, and Judas Maccabeus" was hailed; Monro saw the "eyes of the Nurembergers streaming with tears of joy." The warrior easily turned preacher and earnestly urged them to remain faithful in order to gain the crown of righteousness — the teacher of Cromwell. Gustav often slept in the bed Tilly had been in the night before, so close the Swede kept on the heels of the Walloon.

After a hot battle on the 26th Hepburn cut to pieces the garrison of strong Donau-

woerth, "almost under the eyes of Tilly." For this he was publicly thanked by the king. Later he fell at Saverne and was buried at Toul as a Marshal of France. Since 1609 Donauwoerth had groaned under the oppression of the Catholics, but on Easter Sunday a Lutheran service was held. Many enlisted under Gustav; but, says Monro, "being papists of Bavaria, as soon as they smelt the smell of their father's homes, in ten days they were all gone."

The Crossing of the Lech.

Tilly entrenched himself in a strong position on the Lech, in March a raging torrent rushing furiously between high and steep banks. Nearly all his generals advised him against the impossible, but Gustav replied, in the words of Alexander at the Granicus, "What! have we crossed the sea and so many rivers to be stopped now by a mere brook?" Gustav himself gave "particular directions for such a bridge as, I believe, never army passed a

river on before or since," says Defoe's *Cavalier*, "having been an eye-witness to every part of" crossing the Lech. With his own hands Gustav fired over sixty balls. As reckless as Caesar at Zela, Gustav performed the unheard-of brilliant feat of crossing in the teeth of the enemy — his tactical masterpiece. A fierce cannonade raged from noon till six on the 5th. A three-pounder shattered Tilly's thigh, and he fell in a swoon. Aldringer's temple was grazed by a cannon-ball, and he fell senseless to the ground. Gustav lost 2,000, the Bavarians 4,000. During the night Max folded his tents and silently stole away to Ingolstadt.

Gustav "would often say that day's success was every way equal to the victory of Breitenfeld," says the *Cavalier*. Cardinal Pagmany said coolly, "The curtain has dropped, and the play is over."

Tilly asked Gustav to permit the "court barber of Anspach, a good and famous surgeon," to come to him, which was

gallantly granted. Too late. After fourteen days the grim veteran died with the crucifix close to his eyes and with the words, "Lord, in Thee have I trusted, and I shall not perish forever."

Augsburg.

In 1530 the Lutherans delivered their famous confession to Kaiser Karl V at Augsburg, but the papists had made it "a little Rome." On April 14, 1632, the king marched into Augsburg, marched into St. Anne, and kneeled with his generals. His court preacher Fabricius preached from Ps. 12, 5, and the people sang the 103d Psalm, many shedding tears of joy. Here is where Prior John Frosch played host to Luther in 1518. Gustav dined where Luther had dined. A medal was struck with the inscription *Gustava et Augustana* and *Caput religionis et regionis*. From the famous confession, Gustav had a special veneration for this "patient Job, from whence the Law first



Gustav Adolf Rescues Augsburg.

went out of Sion." It was a Lutheran island in a Roman sea.

Poyntz writes that the citizens "having adorned their Streets with strowing them with herbs and rushes and their houses with Palme-trees and entertayned hym so royally as never was Prince before." He made "Coronell Cratz Governor of Augsburg. Oxenstall, his favorite, hee made Chancelour of all Germanie."

Ingolstadt.

On April 18 Gustav stood before the impregnable fortress of Ingolstadt, the seat of the famous Jesuit university. Gustav was in the lead, inspecting the works. At his side Markgraf Christoph von Baden had his head blown off. A twenty-four pounder just grazed the king and killed his favorite "flea-bitten" mount under him just at the time Tilly died. Rising from the dust, he coolly remarked, "The apple is not ripe — yet." Not yet — but soon. He calmly mounted

another charger and kept on inspecting. The fighting was hotter than to Monro's liking. "At one shot I lost twelve men of my own company; and he that was not that night in that stand afraid of a cannon-bullet might, in my opinion, the next night be made gunpowder of without paine." On May 4 Gustav gave up the siege — his first real check.

The Bavarian peasants rose on Gustav and surprised his stragglers, "cutting off their noses and ears, hands, and feet, pulling out their eyes, with sundry cruelties, which they used, being justly repaid by the soldiers in burning of many Dorpes on the march, leaving also the boors heads where they were found." Incensed by a special crop of cruelties at Landshut, Gustav said, "You deserve to be annihilated by fire and sword," but the "Lutheran Anti-christ" remained moderate to the end. Hepburn and Horn took Landshut, and only 10,000 *thalers* were demanded by Gustav.

Muenchen.

On May 7 Muenchen handed Gustav the keys of the capital of Bavaria and dreaded the fate of Magdeburg. "No one shall suffer with respect to life, liberty, or religion." Urged to plunder, he replied: "Let us not imitate our ancestors, the Goths and Vandals, who destroyed everything belonging to the fine arts, which has left our nation a proverb and a by-word of contempt with posterity for acts of wanton barbarity." This was in 1632!

He entered the Jesuit college and in fluent Latin debated on transubstantiation. One enthusiastic monk fell on his knees and begged him to turn Catholic. Ranks says he was "in the *best sense* a popular man. We took only 300,000 *thalers*." Strange, no cannons! A workman said something about "unburying the dead." Gustav quickly caught his meaning, tore up the floor, and found 140 guns; in the last huge piece was "a cartridge more



Gustav Adolf Enters Munich.

powerful in war than cannon themselves, for it held 15,000 Hungarian ducats." Small arms for 20,000 soldiers were found. The Hepburn brigade of Scots was made the king's body-guard.

As thanks for this Christian treatment of Muenchen the papists put to the sword the capitulated garrison of Weissenburg of 1,000 Swedes. Gustav was so worked up that he demanded punishment for General Cratz; Max laughed at the "Lutheran Antichrist."

CHAPTER SEVEN.

The Career of the Liberator Comes to an End.

Terrified by his crushing defeats, the kaiser in December, 1631, was forced to his knees before the man he had cashiered in disgrace; with his kaiserly hands he wrote, begging to be saved. Wallenstein's terms were such as no subject before or



By courtesy of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Albert von Wallenstein,
Duke of Friedland and Mecklenburg.

since has dared demand from his sovereign. Making a virtue of necessity, the kaiser accepted them. The proud Czech became an independent and omnipotent dictator for life. "God in heaven, I on earth." The kaiser himself was not allowed to come into camp. "No! Never will I submit to a colleague in my office; no, not even if it were God Himself with whom I should have to share my command." He stamped on the earth, and out jumped the worst and wickedest hordes Europe had ever seen. Tilly's men were not "nuns," to be sure, but his wolves were lambs compared with the Friedlander's 40,000 devils. He was the prince of plunderers. Captain Dugald Dalgetty said, "An experienced cavalier might get out of the country the pay which he could not obtain from the emperor."

By threats and promises the Czech tempted the Saxon to betray the Swede, and the Saxon parleyed. The Saxon general, Arnim, who had been under Wal-

lenstein, left Bohemia to Wallenstein, came back to Saxony, and offered to resign his command. "The completest Jesuit that ever lived," writes Richelieu.

Nuernberg.

"In a few days we shall know whether the Duke of Friedland or Gustav Adolf shall rule the world." He marched into Saxony, where Max was to join him. Gustav could not hinder the union and took his stand at Nuernberg June 9, to stand by his ally. Burghers, peasants, and even women vied with one another to help Gustav throw up earthworks.

Wallenstein came with Gallas, Aldringer, Sparre, Piccolomini, the Danish Lutheran Holk, and about 70,000 men and fortified himself in the *Alte Veste*. Outnumbering the Swedes three to one, the Czech would not fight; he chose a campaign of starvation.

The country could not feed Nuernberg

and two large armies, and soon hunger and disease slew more than the sword. "They were constrained to ride ten or twelve miles for a bottle of hay." It was hard to keep discipline. The Germans were the worst offenders. The king read them his famous riot act — "Had I known that you had been a people so wanting in natural affection for your own country, I would never have saddled a horse for your sakes, much less endangered my life and my crown and my brave Swedes and Finns. I came but to restore every man to his own, but this most accursed and devilish robbing of yours doth much abate my purpose. I have not enriched myself so much as by one pair of boots since my coming into Germany, though I have had forty tons of gold passing through my hands. By such means as you are now using victory will never be won." He issued a proclamation, "That if, as he heard was rumored, the Germans should mutiny against his just severity, he with

his Swedes and Finns would 'undertake to rattle them so that the very shivers of their staves should fly about their ears.' " Good oratory. No wonder his hearers "were as paralyzed and could not utter a word." The king took a corporal who had taken a cow by the hair to the executioner. "Come, my son, it is better I punish you than that God should punish me and my whole army for your sins."

Gustav's men got bread but once in three or four days. The king would rather fight to death than starve to death and planned an assault. Brave Hepburn said he would follow or lead wherever ordered, but thought it impossible to take the fort. On August 24 the king with startling audacity and undaunted courage for twelve hours stormed against fearful odds and with fearful losses. Most superior officers were wounded. Bernhard's horse was shot from under him; Banér was wounded; Torstenson was taken prisoner; Gustav him-

self pointed cannons and had the sole of his right boot shot away. Rain made slippery the turf, and so there was no foothold for the attackers; with a loss of 3,000 Gustav quit the hottest fighting of the whole Thirty Years' War.

On September 8 the Swede drew up his army and challenged the Czech to come into the plain and fight it out. The Czech stolidly sat tight. Gustav could not, to use his own words, "pull the fox out of his denne." The Swedes marched away from the starving contest to Ingolstadt. In reading the account, the veteran salutes the heroic Swede with a thrill of enthusiasm, but cannot reverence the memory of the Czech.

A Curious Interlude.

Nuraly Olan Murra, a satrap of the Tartar, came all the way to greet "the Wonder of the North," of whom he had heard so much, to wish him success, and to offer help. Gustav dined the Mongol and sent him off with rich presents.

Luetzen.

Wallenstein went to Thueringen, but he was driven back at Coburg by Colonel Taupadel — this brilliant Scot's name is McDougal — and at the passes beset by Duke Bernard, and so he entered Saxony, Gustav's Achilles' heel. Now the elector again cried for help, and the king had to help his treacherous rival, though only 1,500 Saxons were promised, — and these came too late!

On November 8 the King took tender leave of his wife and said to the Erfurters, "Think not of me; think only of the cause." On November 14 he drove out the Croats of Holk, the most atrocious devastator of the time, and entered Naumburg, where the people kneeled before their deliverer. "These people honor me as a god; I fear God will punish me."

From Donauwoerth to Naumburg, some 200 miles, in eighteen days; "His march was equally bold, rapid, and skilful," says Colonel Dodge.

"The Swedes have flown!" Count Coloredo reported. Wallenstein did not smell the battle afar off, did not look for an attack from the 17,500 Swedes, but the Swedes came on and hurled back Isolani's Croats, and the cannons thundered back and forth till nightfall, when both armies were put into battle array and slept on the cold ground. Two more hours of daylight, and Wallenstein would have been crushed.

On the eve of the battle, November 15, Gustav said, "I, your king and leader, will go at the head and show every one the path of honor."

Asked to spare himself, he replied, "Would you have me take my ease while so many around me have none?" He talked to his generals, as later grim old Frederick at Leuthen. He slept his last sleep in his coach.

Wallenstein headed his center, four massed battalions of infantry, with seven great guns; Piccolomini's black cuiras-

siers were on the left; Colloredo on the right, heavy dragons, with fourteen great guns on the Galgenberg, topped by a windmill.

On the left, Duke Bernard led the German horse, with musketeers; Nils Brahe, with the Swedish foot, in the center; on the right, Gustav and Stolhandske, the Finnish and Swedish horse, with musketeers. A second line, almost all Germans, was under Kniphausen. Henderson's Scotch foot reserve was between the lines. Five guns were in front of each division.

The Romanists had early Mass. The king's trumpeter blew Luther's battle-hymn "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God," and all sang Luther's version of the 67th Psalm, "May God Bestow on Us His Grace," also the Gustav Adolf hymn "Fear Not, O Little Flock, the Foe." Both leaders rode along their lines with words of courage to their troops. There the cry, "Jesus! Mary!" here, "God with us!"

The king did not take time for breakfast. Owing to a bullet in his right shoulder he could wear no armor — "God is my cuirass."

When the fog began to lift, Gustav leaped on his white mount and shouted, "Now, let's at 'em in the name of God!" He prayed, "Jesus, Jesus, Jesus, help me this day to fight to the glory of Thy holy name!" Brandishing his sword, he commanded, "Forward!"

Against the terrific fire of the seven cannons and the intrenched musketeers, Bernard on the left crossed the ditches, took the guns, turned them on the enemy, and drove back three brigades of Holk. Wallenstein with the fourth brigade now pressed into the open ranks of Bernard and drove him back and also the center under Nils Brahe. "The ditch was quickly filled up in that encounter with horse and man that lay dead therein," says Poyntz.

On the right, Gustav routed Isolani's



Death of Gustav Adolf at Luetzen.



Where Gustav Adolf Fell at Luetzen.

Croats and rushed on Piccolomini's cuirassiers. The black fellows fought furiously. Piccolomini received ten wounds; seven horses were shot under him; seven times he charged, but he had to give ground. Ordering Stolhandske to pursue them, Gustav rushed to re-form his recoiled center. "Follow me, my brave lads!" he shouted, bounding forward so swiftly very few could follow.

A ball struck his left arm; the bone stuck out. "The king bleeds!" "It is nothing. Follow me." Weak from loss of blood, he asked Duke Franz Albert of Lauenburg to take him out. A shot in the back and neck. Shot in the neck, the horse plunged, and the king fell to the ground. "I have enough, cousin; save yourself." Lauenburg saved himself by galloping off.

Three cuirassiers dashed up and demanded the name of the wounded man. The eighteen-year-old volunteer Leufeling refused to tell; he was shot. The

dying Gustav answered, "I am the King of Sweden, and I seal the liberty and religion of the German people with my blood." They shot him, stripped him, and fled. The Swedes came up, and the king's body was heaped with corpses. The king's horse, galloping with empty saddle, spread the terrible news.

Said the brave, but cautious Kniphausen, "Still time to make a good retreat." "Still time to win a glorious victory!" retorted the fiery Bernard, taking command and killing a lieutenant who refused to lead his men again to the charge. Stolhandske defeated the left wing and turned Wallenstein's guns on him. The Swedish center leaped forward and again took the seven cannons. Kniphausen drove back the Croats. Bernard had a ball through his arm. The Abbot of Fulda was killed by a bullet. Victory seemed sure for the Swedes. Pappenheim twenty miles away — like Phil Sheridan.

Suddenly Pappenheim swooped down



Flight of the Kaiser's Cavalry at Luetzen.

with eight regiments of cuirassiers and dragons; a new battle was on.

Wallenstein rallied his reeling men, drove back the Swedes, and retook his battery. Nils Brahe fell. Every man in the Yellow Brigade lay dead in the order in which he fought. The Blue Regiment was cut to pieces by the Austrian horse under Piccolomini. Horses fell thick round Wallenstein, his cloak was riddled by bullets, but he was unharmed.

The battle hung in the balance, trembling.

Colonel Stolhandske wounded Pappenheim in the thigh, and a ball tore his chest. "He was a worthy, brave fellow and unblamable in his carriage."

"Pappenheim is dead! All is lost!"

His cavalry rushed to Leipzig. Wallenstein went into his sedan-chair and did not show his face again to the enemy, for which he was reproached by his own men. Back and forth surged the agony—for hours. Ten leaders on each side had

fallen. The enemy's ammunition chests exploded. At nightfall "Duke Bernard charged himself the mills, beating them from their cannon, and there lodged himself all that nighte. But the distraction was soe great by reason of the losse of our noble kinge that wee pursued not our victorie that night, but contented ourselves with wyning of the field and cannon. Wee took there on the place 13 half cartouns and about eight other peeces and all theire amynition, and besides those ordynance wee took in the place they lefte about 20 more in the feildes by Lypsick."

Fleetewoodd goes on: "Had not our foote stooode like a wall, there had not a man of us come off alyve, they being certen twyce our number; and our horse did but poorely. The enemye, more afraide than hurt, fled in great disorder. The bores [peasants] cutt off twyce as many of their men in their flight, when no man followed them, as wee did in our victorie. . . . I count our losse the greatest, having lost the bravest commander in the world."

Wallenstein fought but one pitched battle — and lost it. This battle royal "was unequivocally a Swedish victory" in the judgment of Colonel Dodge.

The Czech was so cut up that he left bag and baggage and cannon and standards and about 10,000 dead and wounded and prisoners and Leipzig and Saxony and "sneaked away" to Bohemia, "where on a scaffold he whipped off" the heads of some of his generals, whom he blamed for the defeat. "As I remember, they were some 36 in number."

The Swedes spent the night on the bloody field among the thousands of corpses, thanking God for the victory, but bewailing, as only strong men can, the death of their hero-king, "one of the world's greatest and best," says Crane. They tearfully sang "Fear Not, O Little Flock, the Foe."

"Presently the next day after the battle or thereabouts in came the Duke of Luninburg with his sixteene thousand men,

and finding what was done and that the king was killed and that, hee thought, was for his slowness in coming, was mightily discontent with hymself and tore his hayre and began to despaire of good success against the emperor."

Colonel Stolhandske and his Finlanders recovered the body of their king. "Had it not been for a little ring which hee had on his finger, he had not been known at all, for his face and head was troden all to pieces by the horse-feet fighting to get his body when hee was fallen, that hee could by no meanes bee knowne by it."

The corpse of the king was placed before the altar of the little village church at Meuchen. Stolhandske's Finlanders silently sat their horses in full armor inside the building while the village schoolmaster read the Lutheran burial service. He also made a rude coffin and buried the entrails in the church. The body was embalmed at Weissenfels by a surgeon, who found seven wounds and the scars of thirteen old



By courtesy of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Grave of Gustavus Adolphus
in Riddarholm Church.

ones. On June 21, 1634, it was buried at Stockholm in the Riddarholm church. The king's servant Jacob Ericsson placed "the Swede's Stone" where the king had fallen. A cast-iron, cross-mounted Gothic chapel was built over it by the German people on the occasion of the second centenary of the battle, in 1832.

Gustav Adolf died at Luetzen, only thirty-eight years old, and yet lives in the heart of every Swede, and his influence is potent at this late day. Sweden's national hero pervades her literature, dignifies her history, purifies her politics, molds her character. Her sculpture, her painting, and her song love to make him the theme, even as she still loves to sing the songs he sung for her, one of which we sing from our hymn-book on the festival of the Reformation.

Cardinal Richelieu said: "As to the King of Sweden personally, there was seen in his actions but an inexorable severity towards the least excess of his soldiers and

extraordinary mildness toward the people and an exact justice on all occasions."

Johannes Janssen, the famous Romish historian, says: "Candid German history will not blame the Swedes for regarding their 'hero-king' with pride, and she will not disparage his really great qualities, which are praised even by his Catholic contemporaries. She will portray him not only as one of the most gifted statesmen, but also as a king warmly devoted to his Lutheran faith, as a man of untiring activity, of rare personal courage, and of a condescension and affability which charmed whenever he would show it." (*Gustav Adolf in Deutschland*. Frankfurt, 1865.)

C. R. L. Fletcher, an Oxford Fellow, says Gustav was "simple, brave, passionate, truthful, devout, with the highest sense of his kingly dignity, and a yet higher sense of his great mission on earth. It is not unfair to say of him that he had a single eye to the work God had given him to do. More cannot be said of any man."

Schiller says of our hero: "The first tactician and the first disciplinarian of the age, a man of large ambition for military glory, his most marked trait was nevertheless the profoundly religious spirit. As a ruler he showed what he might be by the improvements introduced in the industrial, commercial, and mining interests of Sweden, and by the valuable changes he made in the internal economy of the government."

Captain Liddell Hart, the British military critic, thus ends his analysis: "In face of such far-reaching and revolutionary reforms and innovations, who can gainsay his right to be entitled 'the Founder of Modern War'? As a man he ranks even higher, if possible; for his motives were perhaps the noblest and purest that inspired any of the great captains, his pursuit of them so unimpassioned and humane as to shine like a solitary beacon amid the dark deeds and hideous ravages of the Thirty Years' War, that left Germany a desert."

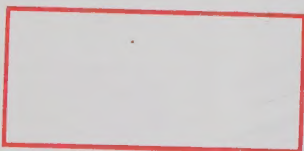
Colonel Dodge writes: "The military student may read the records of war for seventeen centuries succeeding the death of Caesar without finding in its conduct any mark of that art and purpose which the great Roman as well as Alexander and Hannibal so constantly exhibited. . . . When, however, the student turns to the page which narrates the operations of the Swedish king, he once again recognizes the hand of the master. The same method which delighted him in the annals of the Macedonian, the Carthaginian, and the Roman is apparent. He exhibited patience akin to Hannibal's, persuasiveness like Caesar's, boldness equal to Alexander's. Equally great as monarch and as soldier, he united in his one person the art of both. His nation and his army were devoted to him as history has rarely shown devotion. His motives were perhaps the highest and purest which have ever inspired any of the great captains; his pursuit of them steadfast and noble, open-handed and above

board, courageous and discreet. In weighing his intelligence, sound judgment, strong will, perserverance, hardihood and carefulness, he is properly put in the rank of the six great captains, three of ancient, three of modern times. If we look further and gage the results of what he did, if we view the purposeless and barbarous nature of war as it was conducted up to his day; if we weigh the influence which his two years' campaign had upon all modern war, we may indeed in a moral sense and in a sense of making toward civilization place Gustav Adolphus yet higher." (*Gustavus Adolphus*, pp. 402—410.)

"His religious fervor was as honest as his courage was high-pitched. The Bible was his constant companion and guide. He began all his acts with unaffected prayer and ended with thanksgiving. The Christian virtues never resided in a more princely soul. We cannot rate Gustavus Adolphus too high." (*Great Captains*, p. 138.)

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